

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
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P 061932Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7678

INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

AMCONSUL NICE

AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 35997

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, FR

SUBJECT: UDR BECOMES RPR -- OR CHIRAC'S TRIUMPH

SUMMARY. ON DECEMBER 5 THE UDR BECAME THE RASSEMBLEMENT
POUR LA REPUBLIQUE (RPR) AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER JAC-
QUES CHIRAC BECAME ITS PRESIDENT IN A NEAR UNANIMOUS
VOTE BY SOME 12,000 CONGRESS DELEGATES. IN WHAT HAS BEEN
CALLED THE LARGEST INDOOR POLITICAL RALLY (WHICH WAS
EXTREMELY WELL ORGANIZED WITH NEAR-MILITARY PRECISION)
NOT HELD DURING A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, A CROWD ESTIMA-
TED AT BETWEEN 50,000 AND 70,000 WILDLY CHEERED A
LITANY OF PURE GAULLISM PREACHED BY A SERIES OF UDR
LEADERS AND CAPPED BY CHIRAC HIMSELF. CHIRAC'S MAIN
THEMES WERE A CALL FOR REFORM AND A DEFENSE OF LIBERTY,
AND THE PASSING OF THE TORCH FROM THE POST-WAR GENERA-
TION OF GAULLISTS TO TODAY'S YOUTH IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENT
OF THESE TWO TASKS. REACTIONS TO THE RALLY AND CHIRAC'S
SPEECH HAVE BEEN LIMITED, DUE TO THE PERHAPS NON-
FORTUITOUS PRESS STRIKE DECEMBER 6. IN ORDER TO PRE-
CLUDE FOCUSING THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ON THE DIF-
FERENCES BETWEEN HIMSELF AND GISCARD, CHIRAC EMPHASI-
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ZED THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE RPR IN THE CURRENT MAJORITY.

MAINTAINING THIS POLICY WILL PROVE A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO CHIRAC'S LEADERSHIP. WHAT FOLLOWS IS AN IMPRESSIONISTIC ACCOUNT OF THE ATMOSPHERE AND SPEECHES; A SEPARATE REPORT OF THE DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE RALLY AND OTHER REACTIONS WILL FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

1.(A)HE MORNING OF DECEMBER 5. AT LEAST 50,000 PEOPLE CAME TO THE SPORTS PALACE IN PARIS DECEMBER 5 TO SEE THE UNION OF DEMOCRATS FOR THE REPUBLIC (UDR) BECOME THE RALLY FOR THE REPUBLIC (RPR) AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC ITS PRESIDENT. ALL THE UDR OLD GUARD EXCEPT CHABAN-DELMAS WERE NOT ONLY PRESENT BUT MADE SPIRITED INTERVENTIONS. FORMER PRIME MINISTER AND LONG-TIME CONFIDANT TO DE GAULLE, MICHEL DEBRE, AND FORMER UDR SECRETARY-GENERAL ALEXANDRE SANGUINETTI BROUGHT THE CROWD TO ITS FEET WITH REPEATED ALLUSIONS TO THE GAULLIST HERITAGE AND CALLS FOR RENAISSANCE AND RENEWED EFFORT TO MEET FRANCE'S PRESSING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THE OTHER CONSTANT THEME OF THE MORNING WAS FRANCE'S SINGULAR ROLE IN THE WORLD, WHICH CAN ONLY BE EXERCISED AS LONG AS SHE REMAINS INDEPENDENT AND STRONG. THE ONLY "BARON" PRESENT NOT TO TAKE THE PODIUM WAS FORMER PRIME MINISTER COUVE DE MURVILLE, IN ORDER, AS ONE SPEAKER PUT IT PRIVATELY, NOT TO ISOLATE CHABAN-DELMAS AS THE ONLY GAULLIST FORMER PRIME MINISTER NOT TO TAKE THE STAND. CHABAN DECIDED NOT TO ATTEND BECAUSE OF WHAT HE CONSIDERED THE PERSONAL NATURE OF THE MEETING AND THE LIMITED TIME HE WOULD HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO SPEAK. CHABAN-DELMAS, THOUGH MISSING FROM THE GATHERING, WAS NOT PARTICULARLY MISSED. HIS ABSENCE WAS REGRETTABLE FOR THE RPR LEADERSHIP, BUT UNDERSTANDABLE GIVEN THE FACT OF HIS PAST RIVALRY WITH CHIRAC. THE EXCEPTION PROVED THE RULE OF UDR/RPR UNANIMITY IN ITS LEADERSHIP.

B. THE PARISIEN LIBERE CONNECTION. BY A CURIOUS COINCIDENCE, THE OFFICES OF THE PARISIEN LIBERE NEWSPAPERS WERE EVACUATED BY THE POLICE CARRYING OUT COURT ORDERS THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 5 OF ITS OCCUPYING WORKERS WHO HAD BEEN ON STRIKE FOR OVER TWO YEARS. THE CGT CONTROLLED UNION OF PRINTERS IMMEDIATELY CALLED A STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF THE PARISIEN LIBERE WORKERS AND

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AS A CONSEQUENCE, THERE WILL BE NO PRESS COVERAGE OF THE RPR CONGRESS FOR AT LEAST TWO DAYS AND PERHAPS LONGER. BOTH UDR SECRETARY GENERAL YVES GUENA AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LEADER CLAUDE LABBE EXPRESSED AMAZEMENT AT THIS INCIDENT IN THEIR MORNING SPEECHES AND IMPLIED THAT GISCARD AND INTERIOR MINISTER PONIATOWSKI, IF NOT PRIME MINISTER RAYMOND BARRE, ORDERED THE WORKERS' EVICTION IN FULL ANTICIPATION THAT A GENERAL NEWSPAPER STRIKE

WOULD BE CALLED THE FOLLOWING DAY. MINISTER OF JUSTICE
GUICHARD HAS ADMITTED THAT HE WAS NOT INFORMED OF THE
ACTION FOR IT WAS DECIDED BY PONTA, HAS DEPLORED THE
FACT THERE WAS NO COVERAGE OF THE CONGRESS THE FOLLOW-

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P 061932Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7679

INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

AMCONSUL NICE

AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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ING DAY AND HAS ASKED THE PM FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE
MATTER.

2. CHIRAC'S MAIN THEMES.

A. AS COULD BE EXPECTED, CHIRAC'S 90-MINUTE SPEECH
HAD SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY: THE ENTREPRENEURS
AND SMALL SHOPKEEPERS (OF WHOM THERE ARE 1.6 MILLION
IN FRANCE) WHO SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO CREATE NEW JOBS;
THE FARMERS WHO HISTORICALLY PROVIDE A LARGE PART OF
THE NATIONAL WEALTH; THE WORKERS WHO HAVE A RIGHT TO
"PARTICIPATION" AND CORPORATE REFORM (SUDREAU REPORT);
CIVIL SERVANTS WHO MUST FIGHT BUREAUCRACY; THE MILITARY
WHICH SHOULD KEEP ITS NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, ETC. CUTTING
ACROSS THESE AUDIENCES WAS CHIRAC'S FAVORITE THEME OF

LIBERTY, WHICH HE RELENTLESSLY CONTRASTS WITH THE "COLLECTIVISM" IN THE "SOCIO-COMMUNIST PROGRAM" AS HE CONSTANTLY REFERS TO THE COMMON PROGRAM. THIS THEME, HE CONTINUED, IS JUST AS VALID TODAY AS IT WAS FOR DE GAULLE'S GENERATION; FORTUNATELY, HE SAID TO HIS AUDIENCE, YOU DID NOT HAVE TO EXPERIENCE FRANCE WHEN CONFIDENTIAL

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LIBERTY WAS SNUFFED OUT, BUT WE ARE EXPERIENCING A PERIOD WHEN THIS LIBERTY IS JUST AS SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED. CHIRAC SAID HE DOES NOT MEAN TO JUDGE THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE CHOSEN THE PATH OF SOCIALISM, BUT HE REPEATS: IT IS NOT THE ANSWER FOR FRANCE. A FINAL PASSAGE, WITH CONTINUED MORALISTIC OVERTONES, INVEIGHED AGAINST THE PRIVILEGES OF MONEY (TO BE CORRECTED BY TAX REFORM), POWER (REFORM OF THE BUREAUCRACY) AND KNOWLEDGE (EDUCATIONAL REFORM).

B. AT THIS POINT CHIRAC JOINED HIS OTHER MAIN MESSAGE: THAT IT IS UP TO THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE RPR TO RISE TO FRANCE'S PRESENT CHALLENGE AND TO RALLY THE MAJORITY OF THE REST OF THE COUNTRY BEFORE THE 1978 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS. CHIRAC'S EMPHASIS ON A REJUVENATION OF THE MOVEMENT REPLAYS A CONCERN OFTEN VOICED OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS BY MANY OBSERVERS WHO HAVE IDENTIFIED THE UDR WITH THE BARONS AND WHO HAVE SEEN FEW YOUNG LEADERS COMING UP IN THE RANKS.

3. THE MORNING AFTER. AFTER THE EXCITEMENT OF DECEMBER 5 HAS WORN OFF, THE RPR WILL HAVE TO FACE SOME DIFFICULT QUESTIONS IN ANALYZING WHERE ITS RALLY IS CARRYING IT. THE RALLY ITSELF WAS A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS. IT WAS SUCH A SUCCESS THAT SOME RPR LEADERS ARE WORRIED THAT IT WILL DEVELOP ITS OWN MOMENTUM AND WILL BE DIFFICULT TO CONTROL. SEVERAL IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS FACE THE RPR TODAY, AND MANY OTHERS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

A. RELATIONS WITH GISCARD. THERE WERE NO EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO GISCARD IN ANY OF THE DAY'S SPEECHES, WHICH IN ITSELF IS SIGNIFICANT, AND PRECIOUS FEW TO THE MAJORITY AT ALL. NEVERTHELESS, CHIRAC DID SAY IN VERY CLEAR TERMS THAT THE RPR MUST CARRY OUT ITS ACTION WITHIN THE MAJORITY. WHETHER THIS STATEMENT CAN BE ACCEPTED AT FACE VALUE IS A QUESTION NO ONE CAN ANSWER TODAY WITH ANY CERTITUDE AND WILL ONLY BE CLARIFIED BY SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

TWO MINOR BUT SIGNIFICANT INCIDENTS GAVE A CLUE TO THE ILL-HUMOR, EVEN SCORN, SHOWN BY THE AUDIENCE TOWARD GISCARD. WHEN THE ONLY MINISTER IN GISCARD'S CABINET, OLIVIER GUICHARD, TOOK THE PODIUM, HE WAS MET WITH WHISTLES AND CATCALLS. HE QUICKLY AND WISELY TOOK CONFIDENTIAL

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SHELTER IN HIS OPENING LINES IN CALLING FOR SUPPORT FOR CHIRAC'S RALLY. (HE WAS SIGNIFICANTLY ABSENT FROM THE SPEAKERS' TABLE, SO AS TO AVOID ANY CONFUSION OF THE GOF LENDING ITS SUPPORT TO THE DAY. HOWEVER, IT WAS ANNOUNCED AFTER THE END OF THE RALLY THAT GUICHARD HAS REQUESTED AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER BARRE, TO ASK FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE PARISIEN LIBERE AFFAIR). THE SECOND INCIDENT WAS THE CROWD'S APPLAUSE WHICH INTERRUPTED CHIRAC'S SENTENCE THAT HE CAN NOT SAY IF THE RPR WILL BE THE ENTIRE MAJORITY -- BEFORE HE COULD ADD THAT THE ENTIRE RPR WILL REMAIN IN THE MAJORITY.

MORE GENERALLY, CHIRAC THROUGHOUT HIS SPEECH HELD UP THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC AND THE IDEAS OF GENERAL DE GAULLE AS THE STANDARD -- THE STANDARD BY WHICH ALL (READ GISCARD) ARE TO BE JUDGED BY. THE RPR WILL NOT BE AFRAID TO SAY "NO" WHEN NEED BE, CHIRAC SAID. VGE HAS THEREFORE BEEN PUT ON NOTICE.

B. RIGHTIST IMAGE. DESPITE HIS BEST EFFORTS TO CLAIM THE TITLE OF "REFORMIST" FOR THE GAULLISTS, CHIRAC IS WORRIED ABOUT BEING STIGMATIZED WITH THE LABEL OF A RIGHTIST. THE LEADERS OF THE LEFT PARTIES HAVE ALREADY JUMPED ON THIS CAMPAIGN, AND JOURNALISTS HAVE REGULARLY

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P 061932Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7680

INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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BEEN MAKING REFERENCES TO THE NEW NAPOLEON, BOULANGER, POUJADE OR WORSE. IN PART CHIRAC'S SUCCESS SO FAR IS TO BLAME FOR THIS NAME-CALLING. IF HE WERE NOT SUCH AN ANXIOUS POLITICIAN WHO ONLY STAYED OUT OF THE LIMELIGHT FOR THE BRIEF MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, A POPULIST WHO VISITED EVERY COMMUNITY IN HIS CONSTITUENCY BEFORE WINNING HIS ASSEMBLY SEAT IN THE FIRST ROUND LAST MONTH, A ROUGH IN-FIGHTER WHO CONVINCED THE BARONS AND HAS TWICE (1974 AND SEPTEMBER 1976) SWEPT ASIDE CHABAN-DELMAS WITHIN THE PARTY MACHINE, HE WOULD NEVER HAVE BROUGHT THE RPR RANK AND FILE TO THEIR CURRENT FEVER PITCH OF EXCITEMENT AND EXPECTATION. SUCH INITIATIVES ARE TAKEN AT THE RISK OF BEING LABELED AUTHORITARIAN, DICTATORIAL, EVEN FASCIST. SANGUINETTI ATTEMPTED TO MEET THIS CHARGE HEAD-ON, BY STATING THAT IF CRITICS MEAN BY "CONSERVATIVE" THAT THE RPR INTENDS TO CONSERVE THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC, THEN YES HE IS A CONSERVATIVE. THE MORE EXAGGERATED OF THESE LABELS WILL NO DOUBT DISAPPEAR IN TIME, AS THEY DID FOR THE MOST PART FOR DE GAULLE AND POMPIDOU; BUT SOME OF THE OTHERS WILL STICK
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TO HAUNT CHIRAC AND HIS MOVEMENT. HE HAS MANY CHOICES, INCLUDING IGNORING THE DEMAGOGUERY AND/OR TAKING THE INSURANCE OF PUSHING HIS PROGRAM FURTHER IN A REFORMIST/POPULIST DIRECTION THAN HE WOULD LIKE. MORE LIKELY, IF HIS AND OTHER SPEECHES ON DECEMBER 5 CAN BE BELIEVED, HE WILL RETRENCH IN GAULLIST DOCTRINE WITH THE TESTED ASSURANCE OF ITS WIDE APPEAL IN THE END TO A LARGE PORTION OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

C. NEW ORGANIZATION. THE NEW ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE RPR IS MORE ELABORATE (THE RPR WOULD SAY MORE REPRESENTATIVE) THAN THE UDR. OUTSIDE OBSERVERS WILL NOT FAIL TO SEE IT AS A COUNTER GOVERNMENT. INDEED, THE PRESIDENT WAS ELECTED DIRECTLY BY THE DELEGATES AND WILL APPOINT HIS OWN SECRETARY GENERAL (READ PRIME MINISTER). THERE WILL BE A 30-ODD MEMBER POLITICAL COUNCIL (CABINET) AND A 220-MEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE (PARLIAMENT). THE ROLE AND POWERS OF EACH HAVE BEEN SPELLED OUT IN THE RPR'S MANIFESTO. FOR INSTANCE, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS THE POWER TO REVOKE (CENSURE) A

DECISION TAKEN BY THE POLITICAL COUNCIL. AT THE BASE ARE FEDERATIONS IN EACH DEPARTMENT, WHERE THE MAIN EMPHASIS FOR POLITICAL ACTION IS PLACED. SUCH A STRUCTURE, AS IT BECOMES OPERATIONAL IN THE DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE RPR'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM, COULD BECOME ANNOYING AND EMBARRASSING FOR A GOF WHICH IS HAVING ITS SHARE OF DIFFICULTIES IN IMPLEMENTING ITS PROGRAM.

3D. 1978 ELECTIONS: CHIRAC'S SPEECH CAN BE READ AS THE OPENING SHOT OF THE RPR'S 1978 ELECTION CAMPAIGN. HE SAID SPECIFICALLY THAT IT IS UP TO EACH FORMATION OR PARTY ITSELF TO CHOOSE ITS OWN CANDIDATES FOR 1978. OF COURSE, HE ADDED, THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF COOPERATION AND CONCENTRATION WITH OTHER ALLIED PARTIES. THE RPR WILL NOT HESITATE TO ENTER ITS OWN CANDIDATES WHERE IT FEELS THEY ARE STRONGER THAN INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS OR CENTRISTS, EVEN IF THIS AMOUNTS TO FIRST ROUND COMPETITION WITHIN THE MAJORITY. CHIRAC OFFERED AND PROMISED TO HELP THE RPR MILITANTS IN THEIR EFFORTS BY PERSONALLY VISITING THE DEPARTMENTS OF FRANCE IN THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF 1977 (THAT IS, BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS). HIS WORDS, CERTAIN TO BE FOLLOWED UP
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BY ACTION, CONTRAST SHARPLY WITH GISCARD'S COMMITTEE-STYLE PLANNING FOR THE TWO SETS OF ELECTIONS.

4. CONCLUSIONS:

A. JACQUES CHIRAC'S PERFORMANCE WAS ELECTRIFYING FOR MANY, PARTICULARLY THE END, AND THIS FINISH MAY HAVE

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INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

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AMCONSUL NICE

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SAVED THE DAY FOR THE RPR PRESIDENT. AFTER DRONING ON FOR WELL OVER AN HOUR ON ALL THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS THE RPR WOULD BRING TO FRANCE'S PRESENT PROBLEMS -- A SPEECH WHICH COULD WELL HAVE BEEN COMPILED BY A COMMITTEE OF ENARQUES -- HE FINALLY GOT TO THE POINT WHICH THE CROWD WAS WAITING FOR. WHERE DOES THE MOVEMENT GO FROM HERE AND WHAT ARE HIS AND ITS ROLE TO BE? ORGANIZATION AT THE LOCAL, FEDERATION LEVEL IS TO BE THE KEY FOR THE FUTURE MOVEMENT. THERE WERE FEW ALLUSIONS TO NATIONAL PERSONALITIES AND CENTRALIZED GUIDANCE. DEPUTIES, IN FORMULATING BILLS ON THE SUBJECTS EVOKED, WOULD BE GIVING EXPRESSION TO THEIR CONSTITUENTS' WISHES. AT THE SAME TIME, CHIRAC PROMISED TO TRAVEL AROUND THE COUNTRY TO HELP MILITANTS IN THEIR GRASS ROOTS EFFORTS; ONE CAN ASSUME THAT WHAT CHIRAC DOES, THE REST OF THE NATIONAL LEADERS AND APPARATUS WILL FOLLOW SUIT. GRANTED HE WAS PREACHING TO THE CONVINCED, BUT BY THE END OF HIS SPEECH, ONE HAD THE IMPRESSION HIS AUDIENCE WAS EVEN MORE INSPIRED AND PREPARED TO ACT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

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B. RECENT POLLS SHOW THAT CHIRAC STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE HE CAN CHALLENGE THE POPULARITY OF THE OTHER MAIN POLITICAL LEADERS. IN A POLL PUBLISHED LAST WEEK ASKING HOW INDIVIDUALS WOULD VOTE IF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WERE HELD TODAY, CHIRAC RECEIVED ONLY 14 PERCENT, AGAINST 35 PERCENT FOR GISCARD AND 51 PERCENT FOR MITTERRAND. EVEN IF CHIRAC DOES NOTHING MORE, HOWEVER, HE WILL HAVE RENDERED A NEAR HISTORIC SERVICE TO HIS MOVEMENT IN BRINGING IT BACK FROM ITS DESPERATE STATE AFTER THE 1974 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WHEN IT CONSISTED

OF LITTLE MORE THAN A PARLIAMENTARY HOLDOVER FROM THE 1973 LEGISLATIVES. CHIRAC PROCEEDED TO TAKE OVER THE SECRETARY GENERALSHIP OF THE UDR AND ONCE ON ITS FEET, TURNED IT OVER TO A MANAGER WHILE HE DEVOTED ALL HIS ENERGIES TO HIS PRIME MINISTER DUTIES. CHIRAC GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF REPEATING THIS SAME EXPERIENCE. HE CUTS A YOUNG FIGURE ON THE PODIUM AGAINST ALL THE OLDER POST-WAR COLLABORATORS OF DE GAULLE. HE UNDERSTANDS THAT THIS IS THE IMAGE THAT IS NEEDED TO PREPARE THE LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN IN 1978 AND HE CAN BE COUNTED ON TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO THIS EFFORT WITH THE SAME ENERGY HE SHOWED IN HIS 2 1/2 YEARS AS PRIME MINISTER.

C. THE RPR IS AS CAREFUL AS ITS PREDECESSOR NOT TO CALL ITSELF A PARTY. IT CONSIDERS ITSELF A MOVEMENT, NOT TYPED NOR EASILY INVENTORIED, BUT ONE WHICH APPEALS TO AND IS REPRESENTED BY FRENCH OF ALL CLASSES AND FROM ALL REGIONS. AS ONE COMMENTATOR SAID, IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO BE NEITHER LEFT NOR RIGHT, WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME FALLING INTO THE WISHY-WASHY CENTER. IN CUTTING ACROSS POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, THE RPR WILL BE BOTH A DESTABILIZING FACTOR IN THE SHORT RUN FOR ITS MAJORITY PARTNERS, AND A CAUSE FOR ANXIETY TO THE LEFT. THE PROSPECT OF A SUICIDAL SPLIT WITHIN THE MAJORITY HAS NOT BEEN AN INHIBITING FACTOR IN THE MOVEMENT'S ENTHUSIASM FOR A CHIRAQUIAN REJUVENATION. INDEED, THE LEADERSHIP CLEARLY THINKS, AND MANY OUTSIDERS AGREE, THAT SUCH A REJUVENATION IS JUST WHAT THE MAJORITY NEEDS TO PREVENT A LEFT VICTORY IN 1978. BETWEEN NOW AND 1978, HOWEVER, THE RPR WILL BE ENGAGED IN AN INTENSIVE EFFORT TO ORGANIZE IN

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THOSE AREAS WHERE THE UDR HAS BEEN WEAK OR NON-EXISTENT, TO REVERSE LIKELY DEFEATS BY THE PS FOR INCUMBENT GAULLIST DEPUTIES IN 50 TO 100 DISTRICTS, AND TO STAVE OFF INROADS BY GISCARDISTS AND CENTRISTS. THIS EFFORT WILL CREATE MANY PROBLEMS OF COHESION FOR THE MAJORITY WHICH COULD LEAD TO AN OPEN CHIRAC-GISCARD CONFLICT IF NOT HANDLED PROPERLY. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A MUTUAL DESIRE TO AVOID MAKING THE ELECTIONS AN INTRAMURAL FIGHT AMONG MAJORITY ELEMENTS, CHIRAC WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CURBING THE MORE ROMANTIC ELEMENTS OF HIS MOVEMENT WHO DESIRE TO CAMPAIGN ON AN ANTI-GISCARD PLATFORM. AS OLD-TIME GAULLIST LOUIS JOXE TOLD US DURING A LUNCH OFFERED TO FOREIGN GUESTS AT THE RALLY, THIS WILL BE CHIRAC'S GREATEST CHALLENGE IN THE COMING MONTHS.

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